114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once
[137] in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[136] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[484] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
●[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

171 411 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos índios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

224 171 Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

311 ● 484 171 224 During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indicated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be 224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

224 231 Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 34 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Araguaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirape shamans travel widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand experience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowaho, a culture hero, to com-

[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Réligion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

13:, Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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